1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place.

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe.

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be.

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

000 421 784

I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites. *Kahui* on smaller bits of property were signified by signs of certain kinds attached to the objects restricted. They were laid by means of the rite called *ko'aho*, which was performed by the *tuhuna ko'aho*. This accomplished the enforcement of the *kahui* by supernatural means. The custom of indicating restriction by means of *kahui* signs still persists in the islands. A coconut *kahui* was observed and photographed in the valley of Hana Upe on Hiva Oa. (See fig. 8.) A pole about six feet long was erected on a deserted house platform. To the pole, at

FIGURE 8.—*Kahui* sign. Drawing made from a photograph.

a point about four feet from the ground, was attached a bunch of twigs of some bush, the leaves of which were dried and red. Immediately below this bunch of brush hung two coconuts, the sign that this was the fruit that was being reserved. On the island of Ua Huka when a man wishes to place an *ahui* on a tree, he ties a coconut leaf vertically on the trunk; on a breadfruit tree he ties a breadfruit leaf similarly; and on a banana tree, a banana leaf. A certain man owns property by the sea in the bay of Haane. Desiring once to place an *ahui* on octopus, he erected on the shore a pole to which was attached a coconut leaf. It is my belief that these modern *kahui* are not in the minds of the people supported by supernatural means, as were those in ancient times, but that the custom is

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man.

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions.

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7).

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *koto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Simêon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig